with the Arab population of the northern Sudan. Their country was first subjected to intermittent taxation and raiding by the Turks about 1820 and was finally conquered by them in 1867 and became part of the Ottoman Empire. When the Turkish Administration succumbed to the Sudanese Mahdi the Shilluk were involved in a struggle against this new ruler and afterwards against his Khalifa. Lord Kitchener arrived in Shillukland at the end of 1898 and since that time the people have been under Anglo-Egyptian administration. I mention these political events because they have strongly influenced the Shilluk kingship for close on a century, during which the kings have been executed, exiled, deposed, and nominated, by foreign governments. The funerary rites of a dead king and the procedures of election and investiture of a new king were probably not performed in the full traditional manner during this period.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The hamlets of the Shilluk, who number about 110,000 souls, are almost continuous, like beads on a string, along the west bank of the Nile from near Lake No to about lat. 12 N. with a number of

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

131 The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, 132 dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides 133 of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is 231 harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and 243 scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle 141 and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

171 We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have 174 no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

[119] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Nilneger-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

136

ichneumons (mangoosts). The natives also hunt the hare, porcupine, ground-squirrel, rat, and hedgehog. The rivers and khors, and chiefly their estuaries, are populated by crocodiles, hippos, and numerous fish, some of which weigh up to lbs. 200. The birds are mainly riverain: cranes, storks, herons, egrets, fish-eagles, marabous, pelicans, ibises, ducks, geese; the guinea-fowl is very common; numberless swarms of dura-birds (*Pyromelana franciscana*) are a great nuisance to the farmer; besides these quails, pigeons, turtle-doves, hawks, crows, swallows, owls, and starlings are frequent. Of snakes the largest are pythons; of poisonous species the puff-adder and some others occur; harmless snakes are numerous.

161 162 [163] 361

POPULATION

The population amounts to about 60 000 souls,[1] who live in a little more than 1200 villages, and 10 000 "domiciles", each of which consists of three to five huts. Accordingly the average number of people living in a village is 50, and one domicile is inhabited by about six persons. The largest village is Awaden in a district of the same name north of Kodok; it contains (1905) of 120 domiciles. The villages generally lie in the belt between the swamp of the Nile-bank and the forest. There are, however, eight groups of villages 12—20 miles inland, away from the river. The country is, for its size, and considering the fact that only in the higher parts settlements are possible, thickly populated. "Right away from Kaka to Lake No is a continuous string of villages lying about a mile from the river. There are only two points in the whole of this distance, at which the interval between villages exceeds two miles, and these are the points where grazing is bad, between Akurwa and Nun, and between Kodwag and Kyagwado." A. E. S., p. 193.

161 162

According to Sikw-sinkorth, the population was much larger formerly. In 1871, when the Egyptians had conquered the country, a census was taken; the villages on the left bank of the Nile were almost exactly 3000. The inhabitants of this part numbered one million, each village consisting of 45—200 huts, a hut comprising four persons. No part of Africa, not even of the world, is so densely populated. "The whole western Nile bank, as far as the boundaries of the country reach, is like one single village, whose parts are separated by a distance of only 500 to 1000 steps. The hut-clusters are built in an astonishing regularity, and are so crowded together that from a distance they look like a cluster of mushrooms."

361 311

161 114

The statement of a population of more than one million is probably too high; the Shilluks have doubtlessly suffered greatly from wars and raids, but in spite of this a decrease from one million to 60 000 within a time of forty years is hardly thinkable.

163

Since the time the people live under the peace of Anglo-Egyptian rule, they

[1] This is the number of the White Nile and Sobat Shilluks only; if all the Shilluk speaking people are included, the population will amount to several hundreds of thousands.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we have try to understand by analysis and systematization, is by them synthesized in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *Juok*. Though *Juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *Juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organization. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted.

Environment and History

The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their values are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead a less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season.

[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle population. The figures given here are quoted from those given by Mr. John Donald, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 1946.

The Shilluk, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Nilotic tribes, and there is no great transhumance as among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, Dura (sorghum vulgare) being the staple crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority [3] on the Sudan said that "Action as a result crop began in 1924". But the Shilluk as well as the other Nilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton in a twenty year period was 300 tons of raw cotton, mainly from the Shilluk land. It was abandoned and Europeans began to take an importance because the country consumes a fairly large amount of cotton oil."

Livestock, in the latest census available there are about 80, see Shilluk.(6)

Anthropometrical

During my stay in the Shilluk land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 34 men, 11 of them are members of the Shilluk royal family, and 6 women, one of them is also royal. The persons were all measured at related farm, but they were from different parts of the Shilluklands covering the whole area from north to south. Naturally I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Kodok, and the percentage decreases north-wards and south-wards. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong:

Akurua, Kun, Fabir (Detwok district), Adwop, Ajol, Adhuy (north of Kodok), Kwook, Kolkuny, Lol, Fyingar, (near Lol) Kodok (near eastern Ane), Adiu, Kwoky (n.w. Kodok), Opok-Kwin (northern bank), Pwonto, Warajwa, Kwapa, Fokan, Kyla-gwar, Kure, Fangu, Atar and Kyjwot.

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." [1]

Head length and breadth , nose length and breadth, facial and upper facial heights, stature and sitting height. On 8 of the men measured I measured also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading calipers, and the anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are mostly identical with those of Seligman Seligman (6) in both cephalic and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain.

♂ Seligman (21)	C.I. 71.3	F.I. 93.9	N.I. 83.2	S.(cm) 177
Sind (34)	71.6	85.5	84.5	177.2

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shilluklands - 12 of the men measured by me are from Ler (northern Shilluk province), and 22 men are from Lwak (southern Shilluk province) - we get a very interesting result; it revealed that the Shilluk are not a homogeneous people as far as cephalic index and stature are concerned.

9 Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

(i) The *Awareh*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

(ii) The *orore*: a distinctive branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *Awareh* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *colo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

There are no real caste distinctions between *Awareh*, *orore*, *colo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *Awareh*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 43,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1918 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 50 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·3 and 1:0·55. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:0·3 and the lowest 1:1·5.

[2] *Bany*: Literally 'descendants of', combining the name of the clan, 'Bany Obaki'—the descendants of Obaki—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

17: Pumphrey C-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

APPENDIX IV.

TABLE SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES AT THE TIME OF THE MAHDIA AND THEIR PRESENT GROUPING INTO DIVISIONS.

Division (1937)	Settlements	Approximate number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
Mesaria	Thewenkit	107	Mesaria
	Mesaria	90	
	Mesaria	943	
	Agoora	98	
	Thur	300	
	Abeor	94	
	Akurwa	92	
Dolni	Hoa	122	Dolni
	Arombith	82	
	Dolni Ajak	116	
	Ryrudo	85	
	Aruath	37	
Athobowi	Thura	227	Athobowi
	Dimath	82	
	Athobowi	370	
	Nyiker	444	
	Fanyikang	90	
	Ogud	261	Abiangyul
Detwok	Abiangyul	274	Otiango
	Mal	82	
	Burbuk	31	
	Fabio	265	
	Otiango	77	
	Detwok	140	
	Abil	97	
	Kwocang	73	
	Acago	77	
	Atado	66	
Gelhak	Gelo	277	Gelhak
	Kodok	530	
	Lemo	143	
	Fadiang	242	
	Gelhak	228	
	Nyigir	466	

Old normally between Cox and Lelk.

Fashoda	Wadmac	170	Kwom
	Agoora	118	
	Kwom	291	
	Lel	930	
	Yoll	373	
	Thaulang	200	
	Bio	66	
	Fabur	86	
	Bul	113	
	Nyiagar	85	
	Both	63	

Division (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (In 1938)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdis.
Raw summary between Gen and Loan.			
Ogul	Fellwa Fellit Wau Ogul Pal Ogul Bete Ogul Fumuth	77 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	Ogul
Malakal	Malakal Fashoora Malakal Army Post Malakal Chuka Malakal Ayoreagan Wiji Malakal Malakal Thaumbweye Olwa Awurajuok Athabang	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	Malakal Awurajuok
Detlim	Adudo Dur Thaura Detlim Owuri Ohai Abajap Ohai Dago Fakang	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	Detlim Fuayidwai Fakang
Fuayidwai	Fale Fashoora Adhidhiang Fuayidwai Pal Faja Abajap Odwar	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	Fuayidwai
Kyijuk	Kyijuk Kyaaoma Nagdar	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	now existent
Fuayhang	Agwajuok Kyiyar Fakwar Abaaora Odanja Kyibai Bur Wiinyang Dyal Wanbe Kyiwak Dur Odang Tago	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	Fuayhang
Tonga	Dil Kyijwado Dhuk Alai Yom Alipa Kyibado Ayathaja Peferja	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	Kyibang Tonga (Tung)

103
161
175
177
631

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGIN

101 The reader will by this be anxious to know something of the people who inhabit this promised land, the people whom up to this I have spoken of as the Shilluk. That is the name by which they are known as a tribe both among themselves and by others. At present the tribe numbers about [161] 190,000.

142 The Shilluk are for the most part tall and lean in appearance, taller in general than the average, though the mean height of six feet attributed to them by some writers is something of an exaggeration. In features and colour they vary very much, ranging from the squat, ebony-black face with beetling brows, flat broad nose and thick lips to the long-headed aristocratic type, light in colour, with high cheek bones, long straight nose and thin lips. An almost universal 304 custom among them is to tattoo the brows so that the flesh is raised to form, as it were, a row of beads running from temple to temple. This practice of cicatrization often finds expression too in the pricking out on back, breast or arms [532] of elaborate designs in the shape of a scorpion, a fish or a lemon. The custom of knocking out the lower incisor teeth of children is still frequently practised, often, strangely enough, at the wish of the child himself, or herself, for girls [95] also submit to the ordeal. At one time it seems to have been obligatory for the children of commoners, but it is no longer so. The teeth are extracted when the child is about eleven or twelve years old, and many a pleasant-looking face is spoiled by this crude dentistry. Most native Africans have beauti- [142] fully white teeth, and it seems a pity that a child should be thus mutilated, and that a beaming smile instead of revealing two rows of lovely teeth should expose an ugly gap in the lower jaw.